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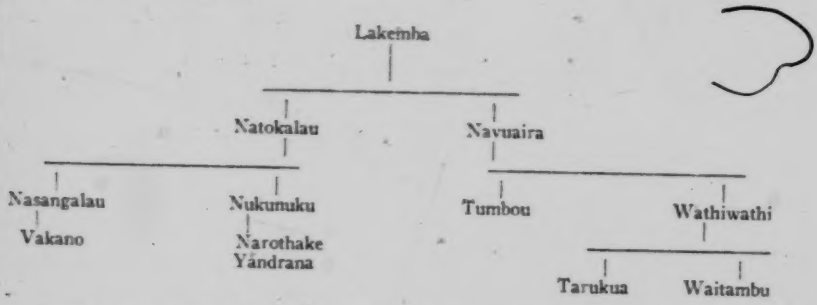
For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows:



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau.

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition.

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side.

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition.

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean

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number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala
	Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa	Thenu	Namana
	Lomanikoro		Mbutukoro
	Nasuthu	Sau	Mbutoisau
	Natalenggitawa		Nakorolailai
	Namolutu		
Yawalevu	Nautuutu		
	Natavua		
	Keloa		

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba: some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not: a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

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RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go. 565 141

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers. 565 576

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us." 565 578 266

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at 565

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565 home and hearing what the people of quality said, whereas her "little sister" was always gadding about, and so was ignorant. Malani was said to know little because the people of Narewandamu brought him up, and he did not come among the nobility until late in life.

The lowborn are supposed to be less honorable in their dealings. The term *kaisi* is used much in the sense of "cad"; the adjective *vakaisi* denotes ungentlemanly, low conduct; and the verb *vakaisini* means to cheat, defraud, to fool. On the other hand the adjective *vaka turanga* indicates a lofty, generous disposition; it is most frequently used, however, in the sense of official, ceremonial, public, as: *ivalavala vakaturanga*, chief-like ways, public function, official ceremony, etiquette; *i songgo vakaturanga*, gathering of nobles, official function, *yanggona vakaturanga*, an official kava ceremony, as opposed to a private kava party.

Some of the gentry of old lived like nobles (*tiko vakaturanga*); they did not work in the fields; now all work, whether gentle or lowborn.

565 576 [516] When coming to interview a superior, a man will sit down with legs crossed. If his presence is not noticed he will cough until he is asked what he wants; then he begins, "It is I, Sir." Pause. "I have come to you, Sir." Pause. "There is one thing I want to talk about with you, Sir," and so on gradually coming to the point, encouraged by an occasional "ump" from his superior. Now, writing is coming very much into use as a medium of petitions to a superior.[1] A servant may send a boy to beg for some paper, pen and ink for him, with which he will write a request to his master to give him some tobacco.

On receiving a present or an order from a great man it is customary to clap slowly with hands crossed; sometimes a man would clap his thighs, but I think that is old fashioned. When the senior nobleman in the house washes his hand, after a meal, all present including his wife, clap hands. For instance Melaia would clap hands when Ratu Isoa her husband washed his hands, but she would not do it for her son. Although this is done by noblemen for noblemen, it is never done for Europeans. Upon meeting a great man after a long absence a man would kiss, or rather smell, the hand of the nobleman, or if a very big man, his foot. Familiars touch noses.

The head of a nobleman is never touched if it can be avoided; if inferiors touch his head, or pass behind his back, or take anything hanging above his head they say *"tilou."* This custom was observed towards any respectable person, not only towards nobles. Only the near relatives of the High Chief's eldest son could cut his hair. His nephew could get only one woman in Tumbou to cut his hair, and she did it under protest. [30-]

If a noble falls down, an inferior will fall down to keep him company (*mbale muri*). The nobleman looking up will say, "Your canoe is in such and such a place," which means "You may have that canoe." If a man

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"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner.

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night.

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The collar made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatiniika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together.

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind.

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de-

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clared that in the old days if a woman came and arranged the nobleman's bed she was reckoned to be his wife; so Kasa was set down in the clan of Vatuwangga; but his children, though their mother came from Tanggalevu, were never quoted as "home nephews." The eldest but illegitimate daughter of Uluilakemba II did not enjoy the prestige or the honors given to her younger sister, the eldest of the legitimate children. Discussing a love-match one said:

> They were not brought together by the chiefs; it was only a love affair, the children of such a marriage are not noble; they are only noble by fluke [*sic*]. According to Fijian custom they are brought together in state (*vakanamuani vakaturanga*); the offspring are then noble. Thus the High Chief was a noble youth before his birth.

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The man who impressed me as coming next to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, in importance is Salesi. Yet in the order of the precedence Tuimereke, the only surviving son of the late Lord of Naiau, was always put next to Ratu Finau, as "the little father of the other nobles." Next came Roko Malani, who is the oldest nobleman and is senior in the generation which comes next to Tuimereke. These two are spoken of as "great nobles" though described as "small nobles" in comparison with the High Chief. On the other hand, Tui Mereke's eldest brother's son's son, Salesi, speaks of Tuimereke as "quite a junior." The High Chief's nephew is positive that Salesi comes next to Finau, and says that as young boys in Mbau they were treated as equals. Only nobles are supposed to eat off wooden dishes in Mbau, and the people of Mbau objected to Salesi following this practice, but the elder sister of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," ordered that Salesi and Finau eat out of the same dish. For Salesi represents the senior branch of the second ruling house in Lakemba; he is the only man in Vatuwangga of his generation whose descent is flawless and in the male line. In short, Salesi being the senior branch is the bigger man, but Tuimereke as his "grandfather" takes precedence. Some of his importance in Lakemba is doubtless due to the fact that he is through women connected with every village in Lakemba except Wathiwathi, Vakano, Waitambu and a good deal of Lau.

Although the High Chief has an elder sister, he as High Chief eats before all others. There was much difference in the respect paid to his elder and to his younger sister; the elder seems to be in a class apart.

Polite Address

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Inferiors use the title Roko before the name of a nobleman: Andi or Yandi, before that of a gentlewoman—as Roko Malani (Sir Malani), Andi Tupou (Lady Tupou). In Moala, Roko instead of Andi is used for women.

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The Thakaundrove title of Ratu, having been adopted by government, is now tending to displace Roko. The practice is often to use Ratu before the Christian name, and Roko before the Fijian name, as Ratu Tevita, alias Roko Ului. I have never heard the title Roko or Andi used before a person's full name, when there was a shortened form, thus Roko Ului, Roko Thovu, Andi La, but Uluilakemba, Thovutimambula, Landu or Landu-vunirewa. Nobles and commoners alike put Ratu before the name of the High Chief Finau, also before his nephew's, and I have never heard the name of the High Chief's sister without the Andi. Ratu Finau's children are always spoken of as Ratu Te, Ratu Nai, and Andi Ethe. The late High Chief was always called Ratu. As for the rest, it depended upon their degrees, relationship, and acquaintanceship.

These titles were not limited to the nobility proper. A woman of the herald clan of Natokatoka was frequently called Andi Rua; but she had noble blood. Finau of Tanggalevu, the wife of Kasa of Vatuwangga, was sometimes termed Andi. I have heard the prefix Ratu applied to the name of the Lord of Tumbou; he was noble in Matuku.

From *roko* comes the verb *vakarokoroko* (to say *roko*)—a term which covers all forms of politeness. There is a polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) used in addressing people of quality; it consists in using metaphors instead of the proper words for parts of the body, relationships and common actions of noblemen. Many of these expressions are no longer heard and many are unknown to the young people.

English	Fijian Expression	Literal Meaning
Body	kuli ni tambua	ivory skin
Head	vanua i thake	place above
Hand	i thaka	instrument
Leg	i turatura	stand
Eye	i serau	brightness
Ear	tamba ni manumanu	bird's wing
Nose	i rengu	thing to kiss with
Mouth	ndraka ni kula, tembe ni kula,	parrot's throat, lip
Back	ndaku ni vesi	back of green heart
Throat	ndomo ni vonu	throat of the turtle
Old man	turanga ndina	true gentleman
Father	i tumbutumbu	origin
Father	ona turanga	his lord
Father and son	turanga veivakasikavi	nobles who visit one another in sickness
Mother and son	turanga veivakarikati	nobles who jump on one another (possibly refers to the mother jumping the child on her lap)
Wife	i solonga	
House	loma ni koro	center of the town
Come and eat	mai tauri	come and take

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To go	lea	
	ka	
To sit	wiri	
To say	vakatambuna	to make sacred
To die	siri	to go wrong
To die	mbale	to fall
To die	mothe	to sleep[8]
To sleep	vakathethengu	to rest
	vakarerengge, tavo	to take care of
To awake	lave lave	to lift up
To bathe	tumbutumbu	
To be angry	toka wale	to sit doing nothing
Please give me	vakandrakai mai	take trouble to give
Yes	ia saka, ie	

The commonest respectful terms are the use of the second person plural, and the particle *saka*. The second person plural is in common use between people who are not intimate. The word *saka* is probably the root of *saka-saka* (awkward) and is therefore a self-depreciating particle. It has been identified by Europeans as a vocative equivalent to "Sir," and is now prefixed to letters. But as the analogy of other dialects proves, it occupies in the sentence the position not of the vocative, but of an adverb. In Mualevu, where the Thakaundrove speech dialect is spoken, *vakatha* (badly) is used. The word *lea* is also used by elderly polite persons very much like *saka*, only more extensively. It can be used between the possessive and the noun as: *a omundou lea thakathaka;* also it is used as a verb instead of "go."

No hard and fast rule can be laid down for the use of polite language. There is not a man who will not use the particle *saka* in speaking to the High Chief, or who will omit to call his leg a stand, "because he is the lord of our land; his title is Tui Naiau." The people of Tumbou and Levuka will call a great nobleman's leg a leg; but the countryfolk and the people of Lau will call his leg a stand. Some small men even in Tumbou will speak of the Lord of Tumbou's leg as a stand. All these words, however, are now more or less abandoned except for the Lord of Naiau.

The ordinary greeting is "awake." For a great person there is special salutation called *tama* which is sung out on first meeting him or passing his house in the morning. The men say *"o oa"* in a deep voice, dropping about a tone on the *a*. The women sing out *"ninggo"* rising about a tone on the *nggo* and drawing it out. The great man does not answer the *tama*. When once the sun has reached the zenith this salutation is forbidden, and "It is night, Sir," is used. The great man answers, "It is night." The *tama* is

[8] A writer in the Native Gazette (12), probably a man from Mbau, says that a nobleman who dies naturally is said to sleep; if he is murdered it is said that he fell.

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of great importance, much care being exercised in its use. It is never accorded to Europeans, except to the Governor and Native Commissioner. All salute the Lord of Naiau in this way, except Salesi, who never uses the *tama* to any one. All Tumbou, including Tuimereke and Roko Malani, but excluding Naivi, use the *tama* in addressing the chief's elder sister's son; and all do so in addressing the chief's elder sister. All country folk address it to Tuimereke. If they meet the great man on the road they put down any burden they are carrying and either standing or squatting, sing the *tama*. None but countryfolk will use the *tama* to the Lord of Tumbou.

In speaking respectfully to a person the natives speak more slowly, emphasize the stress, pitch and accent, and drag out the last accented syllable. A small man always sits down when speaking to a great man; all do so in presence of the Lord of Naiau.

THE TURANGA

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The word *turanga* is usually translated "chief," which is misleading, for it also has other meanings. In the singular, it may refer to "the Chief"; in Lakemba, to the High Chief, the Tui Naiau. It may also be used in referring to some particular noble or merely have the force of "gentleman." The minor chiefs are referred to as *turanga ni vanua* or *turanga ndina ni vanua*, the chiefs of the land, or true chiefs of the land. A village headman is *turanga ni koro*, and the chief of a clan is *turanga ni matanggali*. In the plural, *turanga* usually refers to a group of nobles. If a member of one of the four clans Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu is asked to what clan he belongs, he will probably say "the nobles" (*ko ira na turanga*). The word is here used in the sense, as it were, of "the Royal Family," who are not chiefs, but gentle-folk, descendants of Niumataiwalu, and therefore known also as "Children of the High Chief" (Luve ni Sau). This meaning is the commonest in Lakemba, where it is used also of the whole of Tai, as opposed to Tumbou, or the Land. In speaking of *turanga* the villagers may refer either to the nobility proper, or to the whole of Tumbou. To many Fijians *turanga* merely means "those at the head of affairs"—the chief, the leading members of the nobility, and the chief's elders. I translate the word as chief or noble, gentleman or gentry, whichever the context seems to call for, though this introduces a definiteness which may not be involved in the original.

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The term *ngone turanga* means literally noble youth, but is used of people of mature age. It applies to the whole family of the High Chief, old or young, even a bastard. In the Southern Islands it would be used of the High Chief's father's younger brother, who is eighty. The term is never applied to minor chiefs, and is, therefore, essentially confined to the nobility and might be rendered "prince." I once heard it used of "the sons of the

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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge."[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalamboru e nggou vosa ka sosoro thake tu yani ka tunuru."* *Sosoro* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

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He draws out the last syllable but one, and then pushes forward the offering. All present say, "*E.*" The recipient's herald claps hands, touches the offering and says, "I touch the [article] that has jumped from you, the gentlemen of So-and-so; so let us be in health and concord, and let the work of the Church and the Government increase."

He quickens his pace and raises his voice to a shout over the last sentence. Then all exclaim, "Mana, e indina, amunduo, munduo, nduo" (Be it effective, let it be true).[12] The people having thus exclaimed clap hands slowly, as always in ceremonial.

The speech of presentation is always long. While the theme is always the same—we are poor, we are offering the best we have, so do not be angry—the details are left to the speaker. Thus I once heard the Lord of Tumbou say, "It is known that our land consists of small islands, and the surf beats the top of the hills; there are only small plants; there are no big plants." The reason why kava and all "noble" (*vakaturanga*) things are offered up ceremonially is that the chief may not be angry if anything goes wrong. It is the custom to depreciate what is offered, thus a large cloth is called shreds (*mandra ni ngatu*); a towel, a thing to rub (*ka ni solo*); a good cloth is a rag (*i suai*); a mat becomes thatch (*ndra ni timbi*); and a whale's tooth, a small tooth; puddings are described as food with sauce (*i pekepeke*).

The acknowledgment is short. While no part of it is fixed, nowadays, it usually contains a reference to the Church and State, if there is no more particular object, otherwise it contains a prayer on behalf of the donors' intentions as "may the object for which you have come be attained," or "may our discussion succeed," or "let the wind be fair to Oneata." Before a Provincial Council, the Lord of Tumbou acknowledged a presentation to the High Chief thus: "Let the decisions and the dispersal be clean, and let the health of our chief be good."

Manufactured articles presented on great occasions (*solevu*) are called *kamunanga* when acknowledged; the herald who receives it on touching it calls out *kamunaaanga*, then he utters the prayer, "The *kamunanga* brought by you, etc." Kava is acknowledged as *i sevusevu* (first fruits).

Whale's teeth when offered up are not placed on the ground, the one who presents them holding them by the cord, supporting them from underneath with his other hand. After offering they are handed to the receiving chief who takes them by the cord and passes them to his herald, who holding them in the same manner as the giver, touches them with his nose.

Offerings are described by various terms according to their purpose; the

[12] I do not know the meaning of *amunduo*, but it is a common ceremonial exclamation throughout Fiji.

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term is almost invariably an instrumental noun formed with the prefix *i*, such as *i soro:* entirely gift, offering made to avert the anger of a god or nobleman, or to beg for peace; *i vakamamatha:* a change of clothes, a present to a traveller on his arrival; *i sere ni ndali*: loosener of the rope, a present made in return for a turtle.

There are four kinds of *soro*, or entreaty: entreaty plain and simple; the spearpoint or arrow head; finger cutting; giving a woman in marriage to a nobleman.

Simple entreaty consists in whale's teeth or a hundred fathom sheet of bark cloth (*katundrau*). If, for instance, a village were to kill the Chief's pigs or treat his sons badly they would beg for mercy through the Land Chief or the Lord of Tumbou. If those two enter the house and the Chief looks their way they offer up the entreaty gift; if those chieftains do not attend it cannot be acceptable. They hold four or five whale's teeth and say, "This is a little tooth I am holding here; graciously grant that our men may live. We have found a thing to bring to you; have pity on me, who am the elder of our clan, that I, your man, may live. My speech is lengthy, etc." The chief will speak and say why he is angry, but that he will be well disposed. If he does not speak, it is not approved (*ndonu*).

The spear point is more serious. The arrow head (*mata ni ngasau*) appears to be interchangeable with the spear point. All witnesses agree that they are equally serious. In this entreaty the people besides whale's teeth, bring a spear, or a reed, or an arrow. The people sit at the back and the herald, Lord of Tumbou, Vaka, or Envoy to Mbau, lays down the spear or arrow. If the chief will not accept it he says, "No," when they attempt to pick it up; if he will accept it, he does not speak. The spear is not offered up with the usual words (*vakathambori*) but the herald puts the whale's teeth on the mat and shouldering the spear with the point towards the chief, walks up on his knees saying, *"O oa."* He then lays the spear down; the chief takes it and speaks. This method of entreaty appears not to have been very common as the witnesses, even the heralds, appear to have been vague about it; I have given just the substance.

One informant says the cutting off of fingers is graver than the spear point. Should a chieftain offend (*siri*), the little finger of his child, grandchild, or younger brother, is cut off and stuck on a reed. "Then it is right."

If the spear point fails, a woman is brought. Sometimes a nobleman is angry with an ulterior motive, and rejects their entreaties in order that they may bring the girl he desires. Only a lady of the country that entreats can be brought as a propitiatory gift. Her son may become Sau. Tuimereke is the son of a lady of Oneata who was so brought to Taliai, and Tuimereke should have been Sau.

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Informants are not agreed as to the scale of gravity of these various forms of entreaty. Smearing the body with ashes to entreat is practised in Mbau, not in Lau.

Cutting soil (*ta nggele*) is the propitiatory gift (*i soro*) of war. The soil is presented that the land may be given to the victorious land.

There is also a form of individual entreaty. A man will kiss, or rather sniff, a nobleman's foot; after kissing he claps hands. The nobleman asks, "What?"

The man says, "It is I, sir, your servant; be gracious, sir, and let me live. The grievous things I have done are very many; so they are condemned. Be gracious and help me in this." Even for a minor offense for which the man has no fear of being killed, he uses this form of speaking.

When Tui Naiau returns to Lakemba after a journey, his people go on board and make an offering called weighing the anchor (*thavu i kelekele*). Tui Tumbou presents some whale's teeth saying, "A little tooth to pull up the anchor; be gracious, lords, and come ashore, and come and change your clothes here. My speech is lengthy, etc."

When the visitors come ashore, the elders assemble at Great House for the wading ashore ceremony (*nggalonggalovi*). All sit as for a kava ceremony. First two men, kneeling and bending forward, bear a long cadjan on their fore arms. After saying, "*Ŏ ŏă*," they advance simultaneously on their knees, swaying right and left. They deposit the mat before the person honored and retire backwards on their knees. This offering is called *taki tambakau* (*taki*, to carry a tray) and the mat in this connection is called *ndraundrau ni vanua* (tray of the land). This custom is peculiar to Lau. Next a man loads a bunch of coconuts on his back and advances on his knees, stopping three or four times to say "*O oa.*" Depositing the bunch before the visitor, he offers it up in the usual manner. This is called *thavu niu* (pulling up the coconuts); the bunch is ceremoniously called *vono*. The recipient's herald touches the nuts and calls out "*Vono!*" A custom also peculiar to Lau. A large ball of coir string is then presented, followed by whales' teeth, some of which are called *i nggalonggalovi;* others *i vakamamatha.*

In offering the wading gift to the Governor of Fiji, Tui Tumbou would say: "A little tooth, our wading gift to you, the Lord Governor; be good enough to cherish us, the people of your province of Lau; for our land is poor and there are few yams. My speech, etc." Then comes the change of clothes: "Hm. A little tooth, Lord Governor, your change of clothes. Be gracious. The change of clothes is small; still what we could get, we have bought, etc." Whales' teeth called "the presentation for hauling down the pennant" (*i luva ni tawake*) are offered; I do not know whether on

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board or at Great House. Lastly, comes a large root of kava, which is presented by a herald in the usual way.

The term "calling on one another" is sometimes used in the sense of a wading ceremony, but it is a distinct part of the reception. According to a Totoya man, it has only recently been given up. The herald would say, "Let us call to them," then begin a speech expressing pleasure at the nobleman's presence, ending "*ē*." The nobleman would call out,"

"Seven times," and his herald add,

"Eight."

When all the presentations have been made, a state kava is served in Fijian style. Then comes a feast. If Roko Sau is returning from abroad, it is called the waiting feast (*i wawa*). I was present at one such feast.

The people of Natokalau came upon the Green, first led by the Tui Ra of Yandrana; each man carried a yam and laid it down; the chief of Naiau, the Chief of Ono, and the Government chief of Fulanga sat together to receive the yams. When this was finished, the Chief of Naiau turned to Roko Sau and said, "By your leave, I will touch it," and then called out "Mangiitii (Feast). The High Chief told Tui Tumbou to tell the three chiefs (who were close enough to hear) to dispose of the feast as it was theirs. The Natokalau people then performed a Fijian club dance, which was followed by a Tongan dance by Navuaira.

When the High Chief visits one of the Southern Islands, for the wading ceremony a bunch of coconuts is presented; to the smaller nobles and to their own chiefs on their return home, the islanders present only one mature, unhusked nut. The base of the nut is turned towards the chief's herald, whose part it is to turn it towards his chief. Then came the "calling on one another." One of the elders calls to the chiefs,

"You are welcome, sirs, the gentlemen that have come by the sea." Adding, "I have come to hear news."

The herald on the other side then describes the journey; at each sentence the elder remarks, "Good." At the close of the account the elder makes answer, which, on the occasion I am describing, I did not hear, but which doubtless corresponds to the formula of "steering the report," which is used in Viti Levu. The herald of the travellers presents kava to the elders of the place saying, for instance,

"The first fruit offering. The first fruit offering of the Lord of Namuka, to you elders, the elders who stayed at home. Let us live in mutual love. let us live in harmony. My speech, etc." The elder answers in this manner:

"I touch your first fruit offering, Lord of Namuka; let Heaven be pro-

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pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey."

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither]," [13] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

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A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*).

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

[576]

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony.

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As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*).

When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place.

[482]

[13] The green heart tree, *vesi*, is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

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cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukauā*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings out *"ninggo,"* it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because whatever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

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643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 [194] The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly 565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are 556 described as follows:

> Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".
>
> Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.
>
> [576] The *toma* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

> All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

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The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (headman) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother.

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made.

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced.

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau.

> A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male

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for his elder brother. The younger brother is not allowed to take his elder brother's property without permission, or to touch his head. He cannot smoke the cigarette of his elder brother if it has been carried behind his ear according to the local custom.

Elder sisters and daughters of elder sisters of the mother outrank younger sisters.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Veitamani is the collective term for father and child. A child respects and obeys his father and his father's brothers and he honors his *tama levu* most. He treats these relatives in the ceremonial fashion. On Kambara, a high ranking father and his elder brother are called sir (*ratu*) by the children. Another polite form of address is *tumbutumbu* (ancestor) preceded by a possessive pronoun. On Fulanga the father is addressed by the kinship term *tama*, the father's older brother by *tama levu*. It is forbidden to address the father by the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*. Young children often call their father *tata*. The father or the senior paternal uncle sits in the place of honor at the evening meal or at a feast. He receives the first portion of food. The children may eat with him but they may not eat the food he leaves. Father and children may sit and talk together. Children may use their father's or paternal uncle's property without asking, with the exception of his clothes, mats, pillow, or comb.

Hatred between father and grown son (expressed by the term *thathaveitamani*) is said to be usual and to be based on jealousy. The sons say, "My father does not like me because I am still young and strong", or "My father does not like me because the women like me better than they like him. He is afraid that I have or shall have more social prestige than he has or ever has had", or "My father is very glad when I have bad luck. If I have good luck he pretends to be glad to other people but in reality he is always envious." Most boys claim their fathers are never proud of them. On the other hand, if the son has bad luck (no success), the father feels ashamed. The sons say, "Because of their attitude we do not like our fathers and are glad when they have bad luck."

Veitchinani is the collective term for mother and child. There are no tabus between a child and his mother or maternal aunt. He may take her property, sleep on her mats, and eat her left over food. A daughter may cook her mother's food and wash her clothes. The mother is called *nana* by a young child and *tchina* by an older one. The polite form of address are *nau* (used only to wives of chiefs) and *tumbutumbu marama* (ancestor lady) preceded by a possessive. According to the natives, the mother is not respected by the children because she belongs to a different clan.

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GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *V'eitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

[576]

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law
606 and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict
[835] reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names
[576] but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This
606 privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man
618 and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

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604 606 618 [177] land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutulutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *faliu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 576 [867 558] Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 576 643 198 [84] In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes. Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal relationship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

[689] The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 576 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house.

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion.

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevuseva*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls.

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern.

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share.

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head.

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66).

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

> The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni tvikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576 Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [43] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka.

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

Social life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

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576 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness
643 of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu
784 system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by
784 death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking
753 of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman
[842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover
784 many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break
671 of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu
648 system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

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174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily 157 stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian 171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as far north as old Japan the same sign was used; [576] while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses

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with woven mat-flooring might with few differences be found in parts of Malay to-day. The out-rigger canoe may seem fairly obvious, yet it was not used among western nations. Mariner, in his immortal book on Tonga, mentioned the veiling of women at a very ancient marriage ceremony which he witnessed there in the early days of the nineteenth century; and there are scores of little things like this that the Polynesian must have unconsciously retained despite his centuries of wandering and separation from his ancestral home. The language question is significant in itself; modes of thought and expression are very much the same, and there are more than a few root words to be found that are purely Malayan.

But enough of such theories, fascinating as they may be to the casual observer. Such things may safely be left in the hands of professional ethnologists. I have merely endeavoured to set down in this book some of the old legends and fairy stories of a people whom, with all their faults, I dearly love, and among whom I have lived and carried on my work for nearly ten years as Commissioner of their District. I take no credit for these tales, which are exactly as told to me by the natives themselves, and are selected from a big book of notes that I have made at odd times during my long residence amongst them. The apparently "biblical" language is

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being one of the most common, as the Polynesian Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there," pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

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things to do, and was very busy with his yam gardens.

"And Ligadua waited and waited for his feast, and his wrath kept on rising and rising, till one day he resolved to teach Tui Matokano a lesson. And so it came about in this way. The people were all sitting on the *rara* (village green), resting in the twilight after their labour of the day, when suddenly there appeared from out of the grove of bread-fruit trees a young man, a stranger. His eyes flashed fire with anger, and he walked boldly and upright, not as one would expect an unarmed person to walk into a strange town. Not a word did he speak, but strode across to the great new drum that stood outside Tui Matokano's house. Then he laid one hand on it and grasped the edge, and looked straight at Tui Matokano. And Tui Matokano looked and saw that the other arm was missing; and his spirit became heavy and he bowed his head in fear, for he knew that it was Ligadua. Then Ligadua looked round once at the silent people, and with a loud laugh he flew off through the air; and as he flew they saw the faint shadow of the great drum of Kabara grasped in his hand.

"And when their courage returned they looked round again, but the drum was still standing there and nothing seemed to have moved. So Tui Matokano shook himself, and said, '*Sobu*,

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whom they supplied with muskets, and surrounded the town of Mabula. Then they advanced and called a meeting; and after telling them why they had come they took three of the men who had done these things most often and flogged them before the whole town, and also burnt their houses; and for many years afterwards no more wire was cut on this island."

At this point the track led suddenly round a corner on to the beach again, and a white crane and its mate, a black one, who had been busy searching the reef pools for small fish, flew off with loud "caws" from almost under our horses' feet.

"Io, Belo!" cried Wiliami, "our horses shall not *tama*[1] with you like the men of Yacata did."

"And what made the Yacata people *tama* with a belo,[2] Wiliami?" I laughed.

"No one knows, sir," he rejoined; "but 'tis said that some men of Yacata Island were one day paddling a canoe beneath the cliffs at the back of Vanua Balavu, and when they came suddenly to the gap that separates it from Na Malata Island they heard what they thought was a loud *tama* from round the corner. They at once stopped paddling and leaned forward, heads down, to join in the respect that was evidently being paid to some big chief, when to their surprise

[1] Pay homage of respect. [2] Crane.

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they saw that they had been mistaking the cry of some cranes for a *tama*. But some men of Na Malata Island, who were fishing behind the rocks, pretended that the *tama* had been meant for them, and thus it became a joke that the people of Yacata were *Kaisi*[1] to the people of Na Malata."

At this moment we reached the outskirts of Mabula town; and for the time being the store of anecdotes of my chatty friend had to be cut off, to make way for the more pressing business of a "town inspection."

[1] Inferior in rank, literally slaves.

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123 and walked along for some distance, the islanders
574 joining our little retinue behind and asking, with many jests and flashes of white teeth, the latest gossip from "the capital." Presently, a horse-
123 man approached, splendidly upright, and making
574 a fine picture with his great head of hair carefully
492 combed out, and his proud cast of countenance. But his saddlery would hardly have passed muster in Rotten Row, for it consisted of a loose sack thrown across the pony, and a short length of rope twisted loosely round the animal's nose by a noose in the middle, the two ends running backwards to form the reins! Equipped thus, he yet maintained a beautiful seat; and at our approach vaulted off with an astonishing dexterity, and remained standing until we had passed, a smile of welcome lighting up his handsome
[576] features.[1] I heard my clerk ask him where he was going (the usual form of salutation in these islands, and not intended for unseemly curiosity), and his reply was, "To the next town to let them know the Turagas have arrived."

123 On nearing the town our approach was sighted
574 by watchful boys, who raced back with a flash of
[534] brown legs, and presently we heard the deep booming of the *lali*[2] announcing our arrival.
[516] Passing along the main street of the town, bor-
[576]

[1] According to Polynesian custom no one may be (literally) raised to a higher position than a chief.
[2] Hollow wooden drum.

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dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch-holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup, and filled with sand, into which the dropping fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful features of the men, sitting silent as a row of graven images; while dimly in the shadows behind could be seen rows of spectators, men, women, and children, all silent and motionless until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. First of all appeared at the far end of the line a pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling side by side, and holding up on their folded arms a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees, and in perfect time, progressing by a curious